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ABSTRACT

Recent studies have documented the importance of a variety of contextualization cues such as intonation, voice quality, volume, and pitch in conversation. The appropriate use of and response to them presupposes that one has certain kinds of linguistic and sociocultural knowledge. There remains, however, the question of how children acquire this knowledge. As a step toward understanding this acquisition process, this paper discusses how children among the Kaluli people in New Guinea learn about making and responding to requests based on a strategy of appeal. The particular type of interaction under study is called "ade." The relationship denoted by "ade" is one of caring and nurturing, and is a most important one in the society. The correct use of the term "ade" is important in evoking the "ade" relationship. The different aspects of the "ade" relationship in the contexts in which it is used in family interactions are examined. This examination includes ways in which children are taught to respond to requests based on appeal as well as the difficulties small children have in using the "ade" term appropriately. Finally a myth is presented which provides a larger ethnographic perspective to what the mother is trying to create in the relationship between her children. (AMH)

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ADc: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF A RELATIONSHIP

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ADɛ: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF A RELATIONSHIP

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Recent studies have documented the importance of a variety of paralinguistic phenomena such as intonation, voice quality, volume and pitch in conversation. These phenomena, which Gumperz (1977) has called contextualization cues, are used by adults in signaling how communicative acts are to be interpreted. The appropriate use of and response to contextualization cues in connection with a linguistic proposition presupposes that one has certain kinds of linguistic and sociocultural knowledge. There remains, however, the question of how children acquire this knowledge which is necessary to correctly interpret, respond to, and produce socially appropriate interactional sequences. As a step toward understanding this process, I will discuss how children in one society learn about making and responding to requests based on a strategy of appeal.

The data are taken from ethnographic fieldwork among the Kaluli people, a traditional small-scale, society on the Papuan Plateau, Papua New Guinea. The observations of everyday interactions and the transcriptions of tape-recorded spontaneous conversations which I will draw upon are part of a larger study on the development of communicative competence reported elsewhere (B. B. Schieffelin, 1979a, 1979b, in prep.).

Young children learn about requests based on appeal in the context of a particular relationship between siblings. The relationship is marked by the term adɛ and may be characterized as one in which an older sister "feels sorry for" her younger brother, and acts toward him in an unselfish and nurturing way. It is one of the most important relationships in Kaluli society.

The correct use of the term adɛ is important in evoking the adɛ relationship. Because this relationship is developed between brothers and sisters, it is instructive to first describe the differences in form and use between kin terms used for brother (ao) and sister (ado) and the term adɛ. Then we examine the different aspects of the adɛ relationship in the contexts in which it is used in family interactions and see how children are taught to respond to requests based on appeal. We then present the

difficulties small children have in using the adε term appropriately. Finally a myth is presented which adds another level of significance about the relationship within Kaluli culture.

Siblings: Terms of Reference and Address

From the time they are small, siblings spend a great deal of time together, eating, bathing, playing, and sleeping in the same house. Only when they are 7 or 8 years old do they begin to form more independent relationships with same sex peers and spend less time around the house with the younger children. Throughout their time together in the gardens and walking around in the bush, brothers and sisters develop a sense of shared experiences in relation to everyday routines, associating actions and events with particular places and each other. A whole world of associations develops for the child in the context of times spent together with siblings.

In these everyday interactions, brothers and sisters have available a number of names that they use in both address and reference. The selection of one or another of these names may depend on a particular aspect of the relationship that the speaker wants the listener to attend to at that moment. In addition to proper names, siblings use reciprocal names having to do with shared food, namesake names, affectionate names, teasing names, relationship and kin terms.

The Kaluli kinship terms for brother and sister are relatively uncomplicated in that they do not indicate sex of speaker, age in relationship to speaker or whether the relationship is full or half. The kin terms for brother and sister are:

nao	'my brother'	nado	'my sister'
gao	'your brother'	gado	'your sister'
ene ao	'his/her brother'	ene ado	'his/her sister'

The first and second person possessive prefix (n-, g-) and the third person possessive pronoun ene are part of the kin term. In address, the terms are used (first person) with or without the unbound possessive pronoun, e.g., ni nado! ('my sister') or nado!

In reference the possessive pronoun is always used with the kin term, e.g., gi gao 'your brother'.

Kin terms are used often and in a wide variety of social situations:

1. In greetings, used exuberantly and reciprocally, proper names can be used with them, e.g., nao! or nao Wanu!

2. In everyday talk when reporting an event, e.g., "I saw gi gado 'your sister' at the stream."
3. In making inquiries after an individual, e.g., "Where is ni nao 'my brother'?"
4. After hearing a report of a sad event from a sibling, used following an expressive word to express compassion, e.g., "heyɔ, nao 'alas, my brother'."
5. As attention-getting devices in conversations, or as openers.
6. In any situation in the assertive modality, e.g., in sequences with ɛlɛma to teach greetings, calling out, and in establishing identities and relationships between children. (B. B. Schieffelin 1979a)
7. In requests as an address term when the speaker is either demanding something or asking in a neutral way, e.g., "nao hand me the ax."

Sibling terms may be extended to a variety of individuals beyond the immediate family. Classificatory brothers and sisters both in and out of the village are called by these same sibling terms, and the range of usage that has been described applies to them as well.

adɛ: A relationship term

I became aware of another term that could refer to siblings during transcription of taperecorded family interactions.

(1) Mɛli (24.3) was with her mother and brother Seligiwo (7.). There was a large bushknife on the floor near the little boy.[2]

(as Mother leaves room, to Mɛli):

He will accidentally cut himself
Stay here and watch over adɛ.

This term adɛ was not reported in E. L. Schieffelin (1976:52-58) in his discussion of Kaluli kin terms and other terms of address and reference. When I asked about the word adɛ adults could not explicate the meaning, but would point to sisters, and their younger brothers. When asked what two siblings called each other, or how they referred to each other, Kaluli adults gave proper names or kin terms, but never the term adɛ. This term was used in everyday family interactions and yet the Kaluli were unable to talk about it in response to my questions as they could about kin terms.

Consequently my analyses were based on the spontaneous occurrences of the adɛ term that were tape recorded in different contexts with different speakers.[3] Two major sociolinguistic rules formulated by Ervin-Tripp (1972) and Gumperz (1967) were used to describe the rules of use of the adɛ term and kin terms for siblings, as well as the adɛ relationship itself. The first rule is alternation, where there is a choice between alternative ways of speaking which involve social selectors. The factors determining the choice of terms used in reference and address will be discussed here. Following the selection of the alternate, co-occurrence rules were determined for paralinguistic phenomena (volume, voice quality) and linguistic forms (expressive terms, speech acts).

The Use of adɛ in Address and Reference

Unlike the kin terms for brother and sister (and all other kin terms) which take a possessive prefix or pronoun, adɛ cannot be possessed. That is, on the morphological level it functions quite differently from other kin terms. In address one says adɛ; *nadɛ or *ni adɛ is never said. Nor can one refer to someone else as *gadɛ or *ene adɛ. The term adɛ does not conform to the rules of marking possessive or referential relationships as do all other kin terms and special names.[4]

Adɛ is different pragmatically as well. In contrast to the variety of speech acts and speech events in which speakers use kin terms, adɛ is very restricted. In fact, it cannot be used in any of the situations listed as appropriate for the sibling terms. In family interaction, in address, it is not used frequently.

There is only one type of social situation in which it is appropriate to use the adɛ term in address. When one is begging for something or wants someone to feel sorry and fulfill a request, it can be used as a vocative in the modality of appeal. In addition adɛ is limited in register; in keeping with the appeal modality it must be used with a soft plaintive voice, which the Kaluli call gesiab 'makes someone feel sorry'. Older children and adults use adɛ in address to make requests based upon appeal. Sisters use it reciprocally with each other: brothers use it with their sisters. However, brothers would never use it between themselves, and instead would use nao 'my brother' when begging for something.

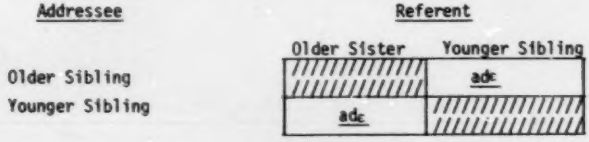
In reference only adults use the term adɛ and only to refer to their own children (or grandchildren). They address one child and refer to the other

as adc. While adc is usually used between cross-sex siblings (older sister/younger brother), a mother will occasionally use the term to refer to a relationship between her sons when they are both under 6 years of age. After that the adc term is not used. Thus, there is continuity with later adults usage, since men do not call each other adc.

The situation between sisters is different. Mothers use the adc term to speak to one and refer to the other until they are 12 to 15 years old or no longer under the control of the mother. Sisters, as adults, continue to use this term with each other when asking for help or requesting special objects.

In addition, unlike the wide range of people one can call brother or sister (classificatory siblings both in and out of the village), adc is used to refer to and address a limited number of individuals, only those siblings with whom one has grown up.

The referential use of adc can be illustrated in this way:



Thus there must be two people who are in the appropriate relationship with each other in order for the term to be used. In addition we see that the adc term is reciprocal--that is, mothers can address an older sibling and refer to a younger sibling as adc, or address a younger sibling and refer to an older sister as adc.

Given its particular linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics, it appears therefore that adc is not a kin term but a context-specific relationship term. It is used only to evoke the adc relationship.

While the adc relationship develops within the brother/sister relationship, it is not "given" by virtue of shared substance or genealogy like the brother/sister relationship (E. L. Schieffelin 1976:55). The brother/sister relationship is independent of situation--a child is a brother or sister whether walking in the forest, playing, or sleeping. The adc relationship is taught and evoked only under particular circumstances, and is specific to situations in which a person needs something and appeals to

someone to feel sorry for him. These situations in which adɛ is used both impart meaning to and become part of the meaning of the relationship being created.

The kin terms "brother" and "sister" do not have the specific "feeling components" in them that adɛ has. Kin terms are general, used for a range of different speech events, speech acts, interactions and moods. They are too diffuse to have the strategic and rhetorical force of adɛ. The meaning of adɛ is situationally specific, that of nurturing and giving out of feelings of compassion. Because the kin term meanings are independent of situation, they would not be as effective rhetorically as adɛ in evoking the specific feelings the mother is both creating and drawing on every time she uses the term. The choice of a lexical item is "constrained by what the speaker intends to achieve in a particular interaction as well as by expectations about the other's reactions and assumptions" (Gumperz 1977:196).

Creation of the adɛ Relationship

In a family with two young children the usual situations arise in which the adɛ relationship can be created by the mother. In ongoing interactions the mother will secure the attention of the older child (most often a girl, 2-4 years of age) and tell her to either terminate or initiate a specific activity with her younger sibling, referring to the infant as adɛ. This procedure is predictable in that the mother uses a consistent set of contextualization cues. She will stop what she is doing and focus her attention on the two children. Her facial expression will show concern. She will use an expressive word meaning 'have pity' (wɔ) or 'feel sorry for (someone else)' (heyɔ), and her voice will have a soft plaintive quality gesiab 'make someone feel sorry.'[5] She will speak to the older child softly and slowly, creating an ambiance of intimacy, apoeal, and compassion. What the mother says (message content) will tell the child how to act. How the mother says it (message form) will communicate to the child how she is to feel. The way in which the mother speaks, her voice quality, use of expressive words and adɛ (contextualization cues) provide the expressive model for the child: that one should have feelings of compassion and feel sorry for a helpless infant.

In these interactions, by using the term adɛ in reference, the mother is helping to create and develop a set of motivations and assumptions for the older child, informing her how to act as well as how to feel. In addition, since two children are always involved, she is creating "structures of expectations" (Tannen 1979) for the younger one, showing how acting in an appealing or begging way will elicit compassion and assistance. Given that similar situations recur in which mothers repeatedly use this formulaic set of contextualization cues, the appropriate mood and behaviors are presented in and as a unified scenario. The relationship is being created as both partners learn their roles. And, as additional children come into the family, the roles of younger and older sibling are played out between different members. Children learn both to beg and to "feel sorry" and give.

To observe the behaviors and attitudes that constitute the adɛ relationship, we look at situations that regularly occur in which children between 2 and 4 years of age and their younger siblings learn to recognize adɛ interactions and act appropriately in them. There are four components to the adɛ relationship: mothers repeatedly tell their children how not to treat adɛ, to share or give objects to adɛ, to take care of adɛ, or simply to be with adɛ.

How not to Act

Given their energy, curiosity, and lack of social knowledge, 2-4-year-olds will sometimes interact with their younger siblings in ways which the mother views as inappropriate. They may play too roughly, tease them with objects, bother them while they are nursing. Reprimands to the older child take the following form:

(2) Mɛli (26.) is playfully offering my rubber sandal to her brother Seligiwo (9.).

[1]Mother → Mɛli → Seligiwo: You take! ɛlɛma.[6]
(waving sandal at baby)

[2]gu/gu/ there!/
(as baby reaches, Mɛli pulls sandal away)

[3]Mother → Mɛli: No, what's this?
heyɔ ('feel sorry'), one doesn't do that to adɛ.

In these contexts the mother ties the two children together verbally by speaking to the older child and referring to the younger one. Her consistent manner of appealing to the older child to "feel sorry" is conveyed by the quality in her voice (gesiab) and the expressive heyɔ. Feeling sorry is associated with the adɛ relationship and how one must act with a younger helpless sibling. Children between 2 and 4 years receive many negative directives, such as "don't disturb adɛ" (who is asleep), "don't take adɛ outside" (it's cold), and "don't tease adɛ" (dikidiɛsabo).

Giving and Sharing

Besides telling the older child what not to do, mothers make explicit what children ought to do in the adɛ relationship. One of the most important things a child has to learn is when to give things. Mothers frequently ask the older child to share food or give an object to a younger child who is whining for it, or showing some interest.

(3) Mɛli (32.2) is playing with one of my rubber sandals. Seligiwo (15.) squeals.

Mother → Mɛli: give adɛ the other one. (Mɛli doesn't)

(4) Abi (31.2), Mother and sister Yogodo (5-1/2 yrs.) are eating ginger. Abi drops his.

Mother → Abi: I'll look for it, you wait.
Mother → Yogodo: Yogodo!
Yogodo → Mother: Yea?
Mother → Yogodo: Give your ginger to adɛ.
Yogodo: I'll break my ginger in half and give.
Mother → Abi → Yogodo: Yogodo, I want ginger, ɛlɛma.

Example 4 is a good illustration of how speakers switch between the the term adɛ and the proper name when asking for food. After Mother appeals to Yogodo to give ginger to adɛ, Yogodo agrees. Mother tells Abi to ask for ginger, using Yogodo's proper name. The adɛ term is not used because it is not appropriate with ɛlɛma, which is assertive. Furthermore, since Yogodo has already agreed to give it, she does not have to be made to "feel sorry" and give.

In many cases the older child will comply when asked to give something to the younger one. However, there are times when the younger child has

begged and the mother has verbally intervened on the behalf of the younger child, using adɛ, and the older child still does not want to give. Here the mother may physically intervene and take the desired object from the older child, leaving that child to have an angry temper tantrum. It is important not to frustrate a young child who has begged for something.

In the examples above, the younger child is over one year old. The pattern of giving within the adɛ relationship has been encouraged from early on. In the next example we see in more detail one way in which this is done. The mother herself provides the model of the behavior that she wants her children to follow.

(5) Wanu (a boy 29.), baby sister Henga (2.), Binaria (sister 5-1/2 yrs.), and Mother.
Wanu is holding an uncooked crayfish.

[1]Mother → Wanu: wo, after cooking let's give it to adɛ, to Henga.

[2]huh?/

[3]After cooking, let's give it to Henga.

[4]ɛm?/

[5]To Henga.

[6]Binaria → Wanu → Mother: Yes, ɛlɛma.

[7]no!/

(Other talk, 1 min. 20 sec.)

[8]Mother → Wanu: To adɛ, after it's cooked I'll give to adɛ.
(holding out crayfish)

[9]this?/

[10]Yes, for adɛ, I'll cook it for adɛ.
(still holding out crayfish)

[11]this?/

[12]Yes. (Wanu gives crayfish to Mother)

(Mother cooks crayfish; other talk 2 min. 10 sec.)

(Mother has cooked crayfish; Wanu sees it)[13]to me!/

[14]Mother → Wanu: wɔ, I'm giving to adɛ.
I'm giving it to adɛ.

[15](Offering Wanu a piece): You eat this.

[16]Binaria → Mother (whining): wɔ, to me.

[17]Mother → Binaria: You eat something else!

[18]Binaria → Mother: wɔ, to me.

[19]Mother → Binaria: wɔ, I'm giving it to adɛ. You'll eat spinach, I'm giving it to adɛ.

(Wanu tries to grab a piece of crayfish)

[20]Mother → Wanu: You've had enough! The head is mine. It (the meat) I'm giving to adɛ.

(loudly, to Mother) [21]*don't give to adɛ!/

[22]Mother → Wanu: wɔ, I'm giving to adɛ, to Kobake, she's hungry.

Mother first introduces the idea of giving the crayfish to the baby (line 1). She uses the expressive (wɔ 'feel sorry') and the adɛ term followed by the baby's name, Henga, associating the two. Binaria (line 6) tells Wanu to agree, but he refuses. A little later Mother brings it up again (line 8), using the adɛ term and saying "I'll give to adɛ." Using the first person present tense of the verb give, (instead of the imperative form), she tells Wanu how she will act, rather than commanding him to give. She is trying to get him to agree to her behavior, which of course depends on his giving up the crayfish, which he does. Wanu requests the cooked crayfish, to which his mother responds plaintively (line 14) "I'm giving it to adɛ." However, she offers Wanu a piece. Binaria, who was not offered any, appeals to her mother and this elicits a sharp refusal. After Binaria's second appeal (line 18), Mother switches modality and responds by appealing on behalf of the baby. After claiming the head for herself, she tells the others she is giving the meat to adɛ. Wanu protests and uses a pragmatically inappropriate utterance (line 21). To this his mother responds with an

expressive, the adɛ term, the name Kobake, which is used for newborns (the baby is 2 months) and the reason, "she's hungry." Actually the mother's last utterance (line 22) has four reasons in it: wɔ 'feel sorry', the adɛ term itself, the special name for newborns (who are the most helpless and to be pitied), and hunger. The idea here is that sharing with and giving to the younger child is an important component of the relationship; one should anticipate desires as well as fulfill explicit requests. Again, the specific contextualization cues of voice quality, prosodic contours, and expressive words are used when speaking to the older child. When a child does comply, reward is not explicit. The happiness of the infant is pointed out, the adɛ relationship has been fulfilled and is its own reward.

While in the majority of instances of the use of adɛ older children are asked to act with regard to the younger one, the reverse also happens. Thus reciprocity in the adɛ relationship is encouraged between siblings when the older one is a girl.

Nurturing and Caregiving

Another important aspect of the adɛ relationship is that of nurturing and caregiving. Mothers frequently ask their older daughters to help in child-minding activities (their sons are prevailed upon much less frequently). Daughters are asked to "watch over adɛ," "check on the location of adɛ," "bring food to adɛ" or "draw water for adɛ's bath."

(6) Mɛli (32.2) and her mother are at home; Seligiwo (15.) has just walked out of the house.

[1]Mother → Mɛli: Go see about Seligiwo,
go see about adɛ.

[2]no/

[3]He'll go to Bambi's house.

[4]okay/

(Mɛli goes to see where he is)

Again, these requests are always made in a plaintive voice, appealing to the older child using the adɛ term to refer to the younger one. In this example, as in others, after the initial request with a proper

name (to refer to the younger child); if compliance is not forthcoming the mother repeats the request, this time using the adɛ term.[7] This adds rhetorical force to her request, and implicitly adds the reason why the child should do as the mother says. This tactic is not restricted to asking older children to act in caring ways toward a younger child. There are occasions when the mother wants the younger one to take the older one into consideration as well. However, when children do not comply, there is little the mother can do but give up her attempts and drop the issue.

When making requests mothers want their children to feel compassion and be moved, to act of their "own free will." This is what responding to appeal is about, and how it differs from responding to an assertive demand. The ability to respond to someone who needs help, to respond out of compassion, is instilled from the earliest age, as soon as there are two children. Mothers use adɛ as a way of putting children in a particular role relationship with one another, which makes it harder for one child (in the presence of the mother) to refuse to fulfill the wishes of another, especially of a younger child.

Togtherness

The final aspect of the adɛ relationship that emerged from the analysis of family interactions involves a notion of togetherness.

(7) Mother is settling Mɛli (30.2) and Seligwo (13.) down together.

Mother → Mɛli: Sit on here, then
Adɛ and you together sit on this.

(to Seligiwo) sit on this/
we two sit/

Young children are repeatedly involved with siblings in situations having a number of important features in common. These situations have to do with acting out of feelings of compassion. The content of the mother's message is consistent: either prohibiting one child (usually the older one) from hurting or distressing the younger one, or urging the older one to act in a positive way (sharing, helping, giving objects, being together) toward the younger one. These messages constitute the prescriptions for

how one is to act in the adc relationship. The concomitant contextualization cues in association with the message content provide the expressive model for how one is supposed to feel toward the younger sibling, on whose behalf the mother acts to express what he himself may not yet be able to. In fact, the mother is (in reference) adopting the very stylistic devices that the children will later use (in address) when they are older and appeal to siblings to "feel sorry."

Children's Use of the adc Term

In examining contexts in which children are acquiring socio-cultural knowledge we must consider the child's use of the adc term as well as the mothers' modeling strategies. Because of its special usage in restructed contexts, children must learn when it is appropriate to use the adc term instead of a kin term for the correct interactional effect. Once the term is selected, the appropriate modality and speech acts that cooccur with it must be used.

Young children often make requests based on appeal and when doing so frequently use the expressive wɔ 'have pity'. (They never use the form heyɔ which is used when the speaker wants the listener to feel sorry for someone other than the speaker.) Young children correctly use wɔ before a vocative, usually a proper name, in begging and appealing for objects. However, in these requests, the adc term is used infrequently. When it is used, it is always to address someone who in another context could be appealed to as adc. In other words, children never use the term with their parents, or young cousins, but only those siblings with whom it could be appropriate. Thus the addressee is always appropriately selected.

Where young children make errors is in other aspects of use. For one, the modality is incorrect in that children use adc in an assertive way with loud voices and not in the modality of appeal. In addition, they use it in situations that are not appropriate, when not eliciting sympathy or compassion. Finally, they use adc with inappropriate speech acts. Let us examine some examples of children's use of the adc term and the response of mature speakers to them.

(8) Abi (31.2) is playing with a large tree nut, a wild almond.
(calling to his sister 5-1/2 yrs.) 1*adc! look at my wild almond!/

[2]Mother → Sister: "Sister! Look at my wild almond sister!"

Abi is correct in his choice of addressee--that is, in some situations his older sister would be called adɛ. However, this was not one of them. The modality is incorrect, as Abi was assertive, calling out, using adɛ in an exuberant way as a vocative, which is inappropriate with adɛ (as Wanu did in example 5, line 21.) While his syntax is correct, his speech act, a directive "to look" as constructed, is socially inappropriate. And in repeating his utterance, which both Abi and his sister can hear, the mother provides a model of the appropriate way to say that particular speech act, using the kin term "sister." We know that Abi's use of adɛ is not appropriate in this context since his mother changes what he in fact has said.[8] In addition, an examination of the transcripts reveals no occasions on which adults and older children use adɛ in an assertive way, or with this type of speech act. In this situation, as in others, he would have been correct had he used the kin term nado 'my sister', since he was not evoking what is special to the adɛ relationship.

Adults know the correct usage of the adɛ term and the meaning of the adɛ relationship. They do not support a child's innovative use of either the term or the relationship. By insisting upon and maintaining the restricted context of usage, mothers define, reshape and guide the child's own emerging interpretation of events.

(9) Mɛli (28.3) is playing a peeking game with her brother Seligiwo (12.).

Seligiwo (babbling): adɛadɛadɛadɛadɛ, etc.

(to Seligiwo) [1]*say adɛ!/

(Seligwo continues to babble)

(to mother) [2]that one is saying/ mother/that one is saying/mother/ (he) says "adɛ"/

[3]Mother Mɛli: Yes, he says "my sister Mɛli."

(to mother [4](he) said "adɛ"/

Like their mothers, young girls tell even younger children what to say in ongoing interaction. Responding to her brothers's babbling Mɛli tells him to "say adɛ!" Her mother, who is not attending to what the children were doing, makes no comment. While Seligiwo continues to babble, Mɛli reports his speech to her mother (line 2). Her mother's response provides the correct model of what Mɛli was supposed to hear: nado 'my sister', not adɛ. In providing the adult model which the child is expected to learn, the mother recasts the infant's babbles into what is socially possible in that situation, as well as what is socially correct. In doing this, she informs Mɛli of what it is that she should be hearing, which is "my sister Mɛli." Ado, which can be used with a proper name, greets a particular person, while adɛ, which cannot be used with a proper name, suggests a particular relationship. The term adɛ cannot be used in a playful situation, such as the one in which Mɛli and her brother are involved. Mɛli used adɛ inappropriately: one does not use adɛ in an assertive way or with ɛlɛma, and one does not say adɛ outside of the appropriate speech act.

Examples 8 and 9 illustrate the consequences of violations of what Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (1976) call co-occurrence expectations. The situation and the mood of the interaction set up the mother's interpretation. The term adɛ used by the child without the appropriate combination of message content and contextualization cues becomes unacceptable in the situation and the mother therefore reinterprets the child's utterance to match co-occurrence expectations.

Errors in the child's use of adɛ were treated differently by the mothers from those made in the use of other linguistic forms. For example, if the child applied the wrong proper name or kinship term to someone, the mother would provide the correct name or kin term, followed by a directive to repeat it (ɛlɛma). However, when the child used adɛ in the wrong speech situation, modality, or speech act, the mother provided the correct model of what to say (as in examples 8 and 9) but did not ask the child to repeat the correct form. Mothers were consistent in their own use of the adɛ term and repeated the correct form and way of speaking after the child's inappropriate use, not calling attention to the error or making it as explicit as they had done with the misapplication of other names and terms.

From longitudinal data it appears that the use of the term adɛ is not mastered before the age of 3 years. While children make requests based on appeal (using the appropriate expressives and voice quality), they in fact do not use the term adɛ as part of the request. The three children applied the term to someone who could be adɛ in the right situation. But all failed to use it with the correct demeanor, modality, speech act, and situation. Both Abi and Wanu used the expressive term wɔ with the adɛ term, but in each case other co-occurrence rules were not met. Most of the time adɛ was used in address, which is correct, but in a few instances it was used in reference, which is not correct for children in any case.

By the age of 5 years children are using adɛ correctly to address their siblings when making requests based on appeal. Speakers would use the term only when putting pressure on someone to comply. Older children never use it in reference, which is correct. When a girl uses adɛ in address, requests are made to either a younger sibling or an older sister, whichever one has what she wants.

While older children use the adɛ term correctly, with the appropriate interactional force, it does not always bring the desired effects, as mothers often determine how interactions with young children will be resolved.

(10) Wanu (24.1) is eating a crayfish and his sister Isa (8 yrs.) wants some. Mother is nearby.

[1]Isa → Wanu (whining): wɔ, ɛe, Wanu.

[2]Mother → Wanu => Isa: You eat!
ɛlɛma = (you don't eat!)

[3]you eat!/

[4]Isa → Wanu (whining): Wanu, head to me.
[5]Mother → Wanu => Isa: Which one?! ɛlɛma.
[6]Isa → Wanu: adɛ, half to me.
[7]Mother → Wanu: Eat!

(Isa whines)

[8]Mother → Isa: Don't take his!

We have just examined different situations in which children are learning about the adɛ relationship as an example of some of the processes

involved in the acquisition of sociocultural knowledge necessary to make socially appropriate linguistic propositions. We have looked at the ways in which mothers teach their young children about the adɛ relationship by repeatedly shaping their expectations and assumptions through the use of formulaic, culturally specific, and situationally restricted messages which co-occur with a consistent set of contextualization cues. In addition we have seen that in a number of situations the child applies the restricted adɛ term too broadly in terms of speech acts, demeanor, and situation. Instead of explicitly correcting the child, the mother repeats the "correct" way of talking in that situation. In looking at the role of "interpretation" we have seen that there are socially and situationally appropriate ways to interpret the babblings of an infant. In all of these social situations the message the child gets is consistent. Doing and feeling are interconnected. Both linguistic proposition and contextualization cues must be socially appropriate in order to effect communication.

The adɛ Relationship in Myth

So far what we know about the adɛ relationship is from its use in family interaction where the inappropriate treatment of adɛ was one important source of information about what constituted that relationship and what it meant. Because the Kaluli could not talk about the relationship it had to be observed in order to understand its meaning and to construct the rules of appropriateness governing the use of the term. However, other sources of ethnographic information are available, and these too exploit the absence or violation of the relationship as a way of elucidating its significance.

From the use of adɛ in song we know that it is extremely powerful in evoking sadness and crying when people sing about "having no adɛ" (Feld 1979, chap. 3 and 5). It is one of the most profound cultural and sentimental relationships, and outside of marriage, the most important male/female relationship for adults. Another source of information about adɛ is myth, where we are presented with an adɛ relationship, and the consequences of its violation. The Kaluli do not say that this myth is about the adɛ relationship, but about a boy who turned into a bird, and the origin of crying. It was collected and transcribed by S. Feld (see Feld 1979).

Once upon a time there was a young boy and his older sister; they called each other adɛ. One day they went off together to a small stream to catch crayfish. After a short time the girl caught one; her younger brother as yet had none. Looking at the catch he turned to her, lowered his head, and whined, "Adɛ, I have no crayfish." She replied, "I won't give it to you; it is for my mother."

Later, on another bank of the stream she again caught one; her younger brother was still without. Again he begged, "Adɛ, I have no crayfish." Again she refused; "I won't give it to you; it is for my father." Sadly, he continued to hope for a catch of his own. Then finally, at another bank, she again caught a crayfish. He immediately begged it, whining, "Adɛ, I really have nothing." She was still unwilling; "I won't give it to you; it is for my older brother."

He felt very sad. Just then he caught a very tiny shrimp. He grasped it tightly, and when he opened his palm it was all red. He then pulled the meat out of the shell and placed the shell over his nose. His nose turned a bright purple-red. Then he looked at his hands. They were wings.

As she turned and saw her brother become a bird the sister was very upset. "Oh, adɛ, she said, "I'm sorry; don't fly away." He opened his mouth to reply but what came out was not words but a high falsetto cooing cry of the muni bird. He began to fly off. His sister was in tears at the sight of him and cried out, "Oh, adɛ, I'm sorry, come back, take the crayfish, you eat them all, come back and take these crayfish." Her calling was in vain. The boy was now a muni bird and continued to cry and cry.

We explore the cultural themes of this myth as a way of stating some of the significant aspects of the adɛ relationship for the Kaluli. This provides a larger ethnographic perspective to what in fact the mother is trying to create in this relationship between her children. Feld (1979, chap. 1) analyzes this myth in terms of major cultural themes, one of which is the theme of food, hunger and reciprocity. In establishing the adɛ relationship in daily interactions, the passage of food is frequently from older sister to younger brother. The younger brother comes to feel "owed" and begs what the sister has. The older sister has been taught to respond to this type of appeal and give, while demanding little in return. Thus to deny her younger brother is a serious breach of the expectations he has about the adɛ relationship. In the myth we see the consequences of the breach of expected adɛ behavior. The young boy begs food from his older sister. Both the child's utterance, "Adɛ, I have no crayfish" (his situation) and his voice quality are aimed at making the sister feel sorry for him and

give. However, each request is refused, as the sister places other family members before her younger brother. This entire sequence, in fact, runs contrary to all norms of Kaluli social practice, especially in light of the expectations created by mothers teaching their children about ade. In denying food to her younger brother, the older sister breaks a basic role. Building on the work of E. L. Schieffelin (1976), Feld explores another theme, that of sorrow, loss, and abandonment. Kaluli deeply fear loneliness. No companionship, no assistance, no one to share food with, is perhaps the most awesome human state. Loneliness is seen as nonassistance, the condition of being without relationship. Schieffelin emphasized the basic Kaluli urge to share with others. "As human relationships are actualized and mediated through gifts of food and material wealth, so these things come to stand for what is deeply felt in human relationships" (1976:150). And, as Feld points out, "it thus makes sense that Kaluli equate breakdowns in reciprocity assistance, sharing . . . with vulnerability, loss, abandonment, isolation, loneliness, and ultimately death" (1979:15). The fact that the older sister consistently denies her younger brother food signals the fact that he has no ade, no one in the relationship of giving to his request based upon appeal. No one feels sorry for him, no one is moved by his situation. As Feld further suggests, "for the boy hunger becomes isolation; denial of the expected role becomes abandonment. The anxiety is both frightening and sad; at once the boy is diminished to a non-human state" (1979:15).

Feld takes up a number of other important cultural themes in his analysis of the myth, but one particularly relevant to this discussion is the importance of birds to the Kaluli. They perceive children to be like birds, with their high-pitched voices and repetitive vocalizations; children must not eat certain birds, lest they never speak. In addition, the Kaluli believe that birds are ane mama, spirit reflectionsof their dead. In the case of actual or symbolic death, one is reduced to the state of a bird. Thus the consequences of the breach of the ade relationship is that the boy turns into a bird, and his crying is the origin of weeping (see Feld 1979 for further discussion about the use of ade in song).

Thus the significance of the ade relationship is not limited to something between children, or a strategy the mother uses to get her older daughters to assist with the younger children. By creating the ade relationship in childhood, where events and associations are largely out of the control

of the young individuals, the mother provides a very meaningful, lifelong relationship for her siblings, one in which appeals will not be refused, and one which gives meaning throughout their lives.

Footnotes

1. I wish to thank the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the National Science Foundation for supporting the field work (1975-1977) during which time these data were collected. This paper is excerpted from "How Kaluli children learn what to say, what to do and how to feel." Unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University 1979.

2. Children's ages are given in months and weeks unless otherwise indicated. 24.3 is 24 months, 3 weeks. Transcription conventions follow Bloom and Lahey (1978). Child speech is on the right side and adult speech and all contextual information is on the left. Examples in Kaluli with interlinear glosses may be obtained by writing to the author.

3. A total of 97 occurrences in 83 hours of taperecorded family interactions form the basis for this analysis.

4. An exception to this is in funerary sung texted weeping, where the adɛ term may be used with possessives (Feld 1979, chapters 3 and 5).

5. See Feld 1979, chapter 3 for a discussion of gesiab in the context of song.

6. Kaluli mothers tell their young, language-learning children what to say in on-going interaction using the directive ɛlɛma, 'say like that'. This is reported in B. B. Schieffelin 1979a and in prep. The transcription convention for multiparty talk with ɛlɛma is as follows: Single arrow → indicates speaker → addressee; double arrow ↔ indicates speaker → addressee ↔ addressee. For example, in line 1 Mother wants Mɛli to say to Seligiwo, "you take!"

7. In address, speakers always use adɛ as a first in making a request; it is never used to escalate or add force to a request, as it is in reference.

8. According to my Kaluli assistant the use of the term is mahagali siyɔ 'not quite right'. This is different from hala siyɔ 'mispronounced' or togode siyɔ 'incorrectly said' (grammatically).

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